

lopes and snakes. The inscription occupies the exact situation here represented.'

The allegory of ancient mythology is a distinct study, a language more difficult to read than any of our 'unknown tongues' when the superstitions are once swept away from practice and memory. I cannot yet attempt any explanation of the symbols common to the caves and the coins. But Buddhism still flourishes in neighbouring countries, and thither we must refer for elucidation of these and the thousand other mysteries and anecdotes of the saint's history pictured in stone and in fresco on the deserted caves and temples of his once thriving followers in India.

V.—*Further notes on the inscriptions on the columns at Delhi, Allahabad, Betiah, &c. By the Hon'ble GEORGE TURNOUR, Esq. of the Ceylon Civil Service*.*

I have read with great interest, in the *Asiatic Journal* of July last, your application of your own invaluable discovery of the LAT alphabet, to the celebrated inscriptions on FERUZ's column, at *Delhi*.

When we consider that these inscriptions were recorded upwards of two thousand years ago, and that the several columns on which they are engraven have been exposed to atmospheric influences for the whole of that period, apparently wholly neglected; when we consider also, that almost all the inflections of the language in which these inscriptions are composed, occur in the ultimate and penultimate syllables, and that these inflections are chiefly formed by minute vowel symbols, or a small *anuswara* dot; and when we further find that the *Páli* orthography of that period, as shewn by these inscriptions was very imperfectly defined—using single for double, and promiscuously, aspirated and unaspirated consonants; and also, without discrimination, as to the class each belonged, the four descriptions of *n*—the surprise which every reasonable investigator of this subject must feel will be occasioned rather by the extent of the agreement than of the disagreement between our respective readings of these ancient records.

Another very effective cause has, also, been in operation to produce a difference in our readings. You have analysed these inscriptions through a *Brahmanized Sanskrit* medium, while I have adopted a *Buddhis-*

* We consider it a duty to insert this paper, just received, in the same volume with our version of the inscription, adding a note or two in defence of the latter where we consider it still capable of holding its ground against such superior odds!—ED.

tical Páli medium. With all my unfeigned predisposition to defer to your practised judgment and established reputation in oriental research, it would be uncandid in me if I did not avow, that I retain the opinion that the medium of analysis employed by me has been (imperfect as that analysis is) the more appropriate and legitimate one.

The thorough investigation of this subject is of such paramount importance and deep interest, and as (if I have rightly read the concluding sentence of "the fifth inscription round the shaft of FERÖZ'S pillar," which appears for the first time in the July journal,) we have yet *five* more similar columns* to discover in India, I venture to suggest that you should publish my translation also, together with the text in the ancient character, transposed *literatim* from my romanized version†. Future examiners of these monuments of antiquity will thus have the two versions to collate with the originals, and be able to decide which of the two admits of the closest approximation to the text.

In the present note I shall confine myself to a critical examination of the first sentence only of the northern inscription, which will serve to show how rigidly I have designed to adhere to the rules of the Páli grammar in my translation of these inscriptions; and then proceed to explain the historical authority I have recently discovered for identifying PIYADASI, the recorder of these inscriptions, with DHAMMÁSÖKO, the supreme monarch of India, the convert to, and great patron of, Buddhism, in the fourth century before our era.

The first sentence of the northern inscription, after the name of the recorder and the specification of the year of his reign, I read thus:

Hidatapálité dúsapañipádayé, ananta agáyá dhanmakámatáyá, agáyá parikháyá, agáyá sásanáyá, agéna bhayéna, agéna usáhéna; esúchakho mama anusathiyá.

Although the orthography as well as syntax, of your reading, viz. *hidatapálité dúsán*, and which you construe "the faults that have been cherished in my heart," are both defective, a slight and admissible alteration into "*hadayapálité dósé*" would remove those objections, if other difficulties did not present themselves, which will be presently explained, and which, I fear, are insuperable.

The substantive "*pañipádayé‡*," however, which you convert into a verb, does not, I am confident, in the Páli language, admit of the rendering "I acknowledge

* We know of five, therefore three remain—the Bhittrí may be a fragment of one; that at *Bakrabád*, and one near *Ghazepore* are without inscriptions.—ED.

† To this we must demur: we have examined the greater part from perfect facsimiles, and cannot therefore consent to publish a version which we know to deviate materially from the original text.—ED.

‡ The objection to consider *pañipádaye* as a verb does not seem very consistent with the three examples given, all of which ARE VERBS—*pañipajjámáti* (the double *jj* of which represents the Sanskrit *dy* not *d*) *S. pratipadyáma iti* or *in átmani pada úmahe*;—and twice, *pañipajjitubanti* (*S. Pratipadyatavyam iti*). *Pada* is certainly

and confess" in the sense of *renunciation*. This word is derived from the root "pada" "to proceed in, as in a journey;" and with the intensitive prefix "pati" invariably signifies "steadfast observance" or *adherence*." With the prefix of collective signification "sam" the verb signifies "to acquire" or "to earn." I gave an instance in the July journal (p. 523), as the last words uttered by BUDDHO on his deathbed.

"Handadáné, bhikkhawé, amantiyámi wó : wayadhammá sankhára, appamádena sampádéttha." "Now, O Bhikkhus! I am about to conjure you (for the last time) : perishable things are transitory ; without procrastination earn (*nibbánan*.)"

With the intensitive prefix 'pati,' the verb is to be found very frequently in the Buddhistical scriptures. The following example is also taken from the *Parinibbánan sutan* in the *Dighanikáyo*, containing the discourses of BUDDHO delivered while reclining on his deathbed, under the *sal* trees at *Kusinára*. The interrogator A'NANDO was his first cousin, and favorite disciple.

Kathan Mayan, Bhanté, Mátugámé paṭipajjámáti ? Adassan, Anandáti, Das-sané, Bhagawá, kothan paṭipajjitabbanti ? Análápo, Anandati, Alapantéra, Bhanté kathan paṭipajjitabbanti ? Sati Ananda Upatthá pétabbáti.* "Lord, how should we comfort ourselves in our intercourse with the fair sex ? A'NANDO ! do not look at them. BHAGAWA ! having looked at them, what course should be pursued then ? A'NANDO ! abstain from entering into conversation with them ? In the course of (religious) communion (with them), Lord, what line of conduct ought to be observed ? Under those circumstances, A'NANDO ! thou shouldst keep thyself guardedly composed."

It is evident, therefore, that the substantive "*paṭipádayé*" signifies "*observance and adherence*" and cannot be admitted to bear any signification which implies "*renunciation*."

It is almost immaterial whether the next word be the adjective "*annata*" or the adjective "*ananta*"—I prefer the latter. But "*agháyá*," cannot possibly be the substantive "*aghan*" "sin," in the accusative case plural†. The absence

the root of all ; which with the prefix *paṭi* (*S. prati*) takes the neuter sense of 'to follow after (or observe) ;' while by lengthening the *a*, *páda*, it has the active or causal sense of to make observance, to declare, ('*padyate*, he goes, *pádayati* or *pádayate*, he makes to go,) the only alteration I bespoke was *pálatè* to *pálatam*, to agree with *dosam*—but as the *anuswara* is very doubtful in the *Allahabad* copy, I incline to read (Sanskriticè *hidayatapátatah dosahpaṭipadáyè*, 'I declare (what was) the sin cherished in my heart'—with a view of course to renunciation. The substitution of *u* for *o* has many examples:—but I never pretended that the reading of this passage was satisfactory.—ED.

* By permutation *d* becomes *jj*, (rather *dy*.—ED.)

† My critic has here been misled by my looseness of translation—had he followed my Sanskrit, he would have seen that *agháyá* was never intended as an accusative plural of *aghan* : I must parse and construe the whole, premising that the texts differ in regard to the final *a* of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th words, which in some copies of the *Delhi* inscription are long, while on the *Allahabad* facsimile they are all short. In the former case (the one I previously adopted) the reading is (Sanskriticè.)

of the aspirate would not be a serious objection, but “*aghan*”^{*} is a neuter noun of the 12th declension. The accusative plural would be “*agáni* or *agé*” and not “*agáyá*,” which I read “*agáya*” the dative singular. In this sentence, this word occurs five times, varying in its inflections and gender to agree with the substantive with which it is connected in each instance; proving it therefore to be an adjective, and, I think, “*aggo*” “precious,” which is here spelt with a single *g* in conformity with the principle on which all double consonants are represented by single ones in these inscriptions. “*Dhanmakámatáya*” is a *Samása* contraction of “*dhammassa kámatáya*,” and signifies “out of devotion to *dhanmo*” “*kámá*” being a feminine noun of the seventh declension makes “*kámatáya*” in the instrumental case, but “*agáya-parikáya agáya susúsáya*,” again though terminating in the same manner as *kámatáya*, are in the dative case as *sasúsáya* (which I read *Sásanáya*) is a neuter noun of the tenth (?) declension; *bhayéna* and *usáhéna* being, the one a neuter of the twelfth and the other a masculine noun of the first declension, both make their instrumental case in “*ena*.” Without a precise knowledge of the *Páli* grammar, it is impossible to define when a case is *dative* and when *instrumental*. “*Esachakho mama anusathiyá*,” you translate, I find, “by these may my eyes be strengthened and confirmed (in rectitude).” The participial verb “*anusathiyá*,” could not, I imagine, be made to bear in *Páli* the signification you give it. The preposition “*anu*” signifies “following,” “continuance,” “in due order,” when in composition with the root “*sara*” “to remember” (from which *sathiyá* is derived), the compound term always means “to bear in remembrance” or “perpetuate the remembrance of.” If there was any thing to be gained by preserving the “eyes” we might certainly

adj. fem. s. 5.	subs. fem. s. 5.	sub. nt. s. 4	sub. fem. s. 5.	ditto	ditto,
<i>Anyata-agháyá</i>	<i>dharmakámatáyá</i> ,	<i>agháyá</i> ,	<i>pariksháyá</i> ,	<i>agháyá</i>	<i>susrusáyá</i>
3rd case	sub. s. 3	sub. s. 3	pro. 1	sub. s. 1	pro. 6 verb pot. s. 3.
<i>aghena</i>	<i>bhayena</i> ,	<i>aghena</i>	<i>ulsáhena</i> ,	<i>esa</i>	<i>chakshuh</i> ,
					<i>mama</i>
					<i>anustheyát</i>

“from the all-else-sinful religion-desire, from examination to sin, from desire to listen to sin (sc. to hear it preached of) by sin-fear, by sin-enormity,—thus may the eye of me be confirmed.”

In this translation I have preserved every case as in the Sanskrit, and I think it will be found that the same meaning is expressed in my first translation.

If the short *a* be preferred, the 5th case, *kamatáyá* and *pariksháyá*, both feminine substantives must be changed to the 3rd, Sans. *kámatáyai* and *pariksháyai* (in *Páli*, *kámatáya* and *parikháya*)—and the sense will be only changed to “by the all-else-sinful desire of religion,—by the scrutiny into the nature of sin, &c. That *kámatá* (not *kámá*) is the feminine noun employed (formed like *devatá* from *deva*) is certain: because the nominative case is afterwards introduced ‘*dharma-prekshá*, *dharma kámatá cha*, &c. Mr. TURNOUR converts these into plural personal nouns, “the observers of dharma, the delighters in dharma”—but such an interpretation is both inconsistent with the singular verb (*varddhisati*), and with the expression *suve suve* (*svayam svayam*) ‘each of itself’—I therefore see no reason to give up any part of my interpretation of the opening sentence of the inscription.—ED.

* *Aghan* is said to be sometimes masculine, *aghó* which makes *aghé* in the accusative plural.—ED.

with a trifling variation, read the passage “*esá*” *chakhú mama anusathiyá,*” *hontu* being understood,—“may my eyes perpetuate the remembrance of these (*dhanmá*).” But I confess I prefer the reading of this passage as it appears in the inscription—“*Esáchakho mama anusathiyá,*”—the verb “*hessati*” being understood,—and “*esá*” agreeing with “*Dhanmalipi*.” “This (inscription on *Dhanmo*), moreover, will serve to perpetuate the remembrance of me.” This rendering conveys a nobler sentiment, aspiring to more permanent fame, and is in close^r confirmity also with the spirit of the last sentence in the fifth inscription.

I have still to dispose of the initial words “*Hidatapálité dusan patipádayé.*” I acknowledge that I was at first entirely baffled by them. When I had completed the translation of all the four inscriptions, save these three words, I found that they were the edicts of an Indian monarch, a zealot in Buddhism? and from these columns being scattered over widely separated kingdoms of India, it appeared equally certain to me that a *Rájádhirája* of India alone could be the author of them. As far as I was aware, two *supreme* monarchs alone of India had become converts to Buddhism, since the advent of SA’KYA. DHANMA’SOKO in the fourth century before Christ; and PA’NDU at the end of the third century of our era. I could hit upon no circumstance connected with the former ruler which availed me in interpreting these words. I then took up the *Dhátá-dátuwanso*, the history of the tooth relic, the only work, I believe, in *Ceylon*, which treats of PA’NDU. I there found, not only that his conversion had been brought about in consequence of the transfer of the tooth relic from *Dantapura* in the Northern Circars, then called *Kálinga*, to his capital *Páttilipúra* the modern *Patna*; but also met with several passages expressive of PA’NDU’S sentiments strictly analogous with those contained in these inscriptions. This discovery, at the moment, entirely satisfied me, that these three hitherto undecipherable words should be read *hi** *Dantapurató dasanán upádayé*: the *hi* being an epletive of the preceding word, and the other words signifying “from *Dantapura* I have obtained the tooth relic.”

Under this impression my former paper on these inscriptions was drawn up. My having subsequently ascertained that PIYADASI is DHANMA’SOKO does not necessarily vitiate this reading; for the tooth relic was at *Dantapura* during his reign also; and there is no reason why DHANMA’SOKO likewise should not have paid it the reverential honor of transferring it to his capital. But since I have read your translation, I have made out another solution of these words, furnishing the signification you adopt, without incurring the apparent objections noticed above. The sentence written *in extenso*, divested of permutation of letters, and *samása* contraction might be read; † *Hin ataná pálité dúsapatipádayé*. “I have renounced the impious courses cherished by myself.” “*Hin*” is derived from the root *há* “to renounce,” and is the *Varassa* form of the *ajjataní tense*. By the 35th rule of CLOUGH’S grammar, p. 13, when *n* precedes a vowel it is frequently suppressed, and *m* or *d* substituted in its place, as for “*áwan assa*” is written “*éwamassa*” for “*étan awócha*,” “*étadawócha*.” By this rule, therefore, “*Hin ataná*” would become “*Hidataná*.” Again by the “*Tapuriso*” (*Tatpuru-*

* The alterations requisite to admit of that reading are trifling, and chiefly symbolic, in the ancient alphabet.

† This verb *Hin* is most frequently found in the participial form “*hitwá*.”

śya) rule (No. 19, p. 79) “*atanápálité*” would be contracted into “*atapálité*.” The reading *in extenso* then becomes contracted into “*Hidatapálité*.” “*Dosa*” from “*du*” signifies “impure or impious” and “*patipadayé*,” as already explained are “observances or actions in life.” My reading therefore of the entire sentence is now “I have renounced the impious observances cherished by myself—out of innumerable and inestimable motives of devotion to *Dhanmo*, and out of reverential awe and devout zeal for the precious religion which confers inestimable protection. This (inscription on *Dhanmo*), moreover, will serve to perpetuate the remembrance of me.”

I proceed now to give my authority for pronouncing PİYADASI to be DHANMÁSÓ'KO.

From a very early period, extending back certainly to 800 years, frequent religious missions have been mutually sent to each other's courts, by the monarchs of *Ceylon* and *Siam*, on which occasions an exchange of the *Páli* literature extant in either country appears to have taken place. In the several *Soléan* and *Pándian* conquests of this island, the literary annals of *Ceylon* were extensively and intentionally destroyed. The savage RAJASINGHA in particular, who reigned between A. D. 1581 and 1592, and became a convert from the Buddhistical to the Brahmanical faith, industriously sought out every Buddhistical work he could find, and “delighted in burning them in heaps as high as a cocoanut tree.” These losses were in great measure repaired by the embassy to Siam of WILBAGADERE MUDIYANSE, in the reign of KIRTISRI RAJASINGHA in A. D. 1753, when he brought back Burmese versions of most of the *Páli* sacred books, a list of which is now lodged in the *Daladá* temple in *Kandy*.

The last mission of this character, undertaken however without any royal or official authority, was conducted by the chief priest of the *Challia* or cinnamon caste of the maritime provinces, then called KAPAGAMA théro. He returned in 1812 with a valuable library, comprising also some historical and philological works. Some time after his return, under the instructions of the late Archdeacon of *Ceylon*, the Honorable Doctor TWISLETON, and of the late Rev. G. BISSET, then senior colonial chaplain, KAPAGAMA became a Convert to christianity, and at his baptism assumed the name of GEORGE NADORIS DE SILVA, and he is now a modliar or chief of the cinnamon department at *Colombo*. He resigned his library to his senior pupil, who is the present chief priest of the *Challias*, and these books are chiefly kept at the wihare at *Dadála* near *Galle*. This conversion appears to have produced no estrangement or diminution of regard between the parties. It is from GEORGE NADORIS, modliar, that I received the Burmese version of the *Tíká* of the *Maháwanso*, which enabled me to rec-

tify extensive imperfections in the copy previously obtained from the ancient temple at *Mulgirigalla*, near *Tangalle*.

Some time ago the modliar suggested to me that I was wrong in supposing the *Maháwanso* and the *Dípawanso* to be the same work, as he thought he had brought the *Dípawanso* himself from Burmah. I was sceptical. In my last visit, however, to *Colombo*, he produced the book, with an air of triumph. His triumph could not exceed my delight when I found the work commenced with these lines quoted by the author of the *Maháwanso** as taken from the *Maháwanso* (another name for *Dípawanso*) compiled by the priests of the *Utáru* wihare at *Anurádhapura*, the ancient capital of *Ceylon*. "I will perspicuously set forth the visits of *Buddho* to *Ceylon*; the histories of the CONVOCATIONS and of the schisms of the theros; the introduction of the religion (of *BUDDHO*) into the island; and the settlement and pedigree of the sovereign *WIJAYO*."

In cursorily running over the book, at the opening of the sixth *Bhánawáro* or chapter, which should contain the history of *DHAMMA'SÓKO*, I found the lines quoted from my note to you in page 791.

This *Dípawanso* extends to the end of the reign of *MAHASINO*, which closed in A. D. 302. As the *Maháwanso*, which quotes from this work, was compiled between A. D. 459 and 477, the *Dípawanso* must have been written between those two epochs. I have only cursorily run over the early chapters to the period where the Indian history terminates without collecting from that perusal any new matter, not found embodied either in the *Maháwanso* or its *Tíká*, excepting the valuable information above mentioned, and a series of dates defining the particular year of each sovereign's reign, in which the several hierarchs of the Buddhistical church died, down to *MOGGALIPUTTATISSO* the chief priest who presided at the THIRD CONVOCATION in the reign of *DHAMMÁSÓKO*. These dates may remove some of the incongruities touched upon in my second paper on Buddhistical annals.

This Burmese copy, however, of the *Dípawanso* is very imperfect. Each *Bhánawáro* ought to contain 250 verses. Several chapters fall short of this complement; and, in some, the same passage is repeated two and even three times.

It will be highly desirable to procure, if possible, a more perfect copy, together with its commentary, (either *Tíká* or *Atthakathá*) from the Burmese empire.

On my return to *Kandy*, and production of the *Dípawanso* to the Buddhist priests, who are my coadjutors in these researches, they

* Vide in the quarto edition the introduction to the *Maháwanso*, page xxxi.

reminded me that there was a *Páli* work on my own shelves, which also gave to DHANMÁSÓKO, the appellation of PIYADASO. The work is chiefly in prose, and held in great estimation for the elegance of its style: hence called "*Rasawáhiní*"—"sweetly flowing" or the "harmonious stream."

The Singhalese version, of which this *Páli* work is a translation, was of great antiquity, and is no longer extant. The present copies in that language are merely translations of this *Páli* edition. I am not able to fix the date of this *Páli* version, as the author does not give the name of the sovereign in whose reign he flourished—but the period is certainly subsequent to A. D. 477, as he quotes frequently from the *Maháwanso*. The author only states, that this work is compiled by KORATTHAPÁLO, the pious and virtuous incumbent of the *Tanguttawankapariwéno* attached to the *Mahawiháro* (at *Anurádhapura*); and that he translates it from an ancient Singhalese work, avoiding only the defects of tautology and its want of perspicuity.

In one of the narratives of this book, containing the history of DHANMÁSÓKO, of ASANDHIMITTA' his first consort after his accession to the Indian empire, of his nephew NIGRO'DHO, by whom he was converted to Buddhism, and of his contemporary and ally DE'WA'NANPIYATISSO, the sovereign of *Ceylon*,—DHANMÁSÓKO is more than once called PIYADASO, viz.:

"*Madhdáyako pana wánijo Déwalókató chawitwá, Pupphapuré rájakulé up-pajitwá PIYA'DASO kumáro hutwá chhattan ussápetwá sakala-jambádípá éka-rájjan akási*.*"

"The honey-dealer who was the donor thereof (to the *Paché Buddha*) descending by his demise from the *Déwalóko* heavens; being born in the royal dynasty at *Pupphapura* (or *Patilipura, Patna*); becoming the prince PIYADA'SO and raising the *chhatta*†, established his undivided sovereignty over the whole of *Jambudípa*"—and again—

"*Anágaté Piyadáso, náma kumáro chhattan ussápetwá ASÓKÓ náma DHANMA RA'JA' bhawissati.*"

"Hereafter the prince PIYADA'SO having raised the *chhatta*, will assume the title of ASÓKÓ the DHAN'MA RA'JA', or righteous monarch."

It would be unreasonable to multiply quotations which I could readily do, for pronouncing that PIYADASO, PIYADASINO‡ or PIYADASI, according as metrical exigencies required the appellation to be written, was the name of DHANMÁSÓKO before he usurped the Indian empire; and it is of this monarch that the amplest details are found in *Páli* annals. The 5th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th chapters of the *Maháwanso* contain exclu-

* Vide page 24 of the *Maháwanso* for an explanation of this passage.

† Parasol of dominion.

‡ Piyadassino is the genitive case of Piyadasi, प्रियदर्शिनः—ED.

sively the history of this celebrated ruler, and there are occasional notices of him in the *Tíká* of that work, which also I have touched upon in my introduction to that publication. He occupies also a conspicuous place in my article No. 2, on Buddhistical annals. His history may be thus summed up.

He was the grandson of CHANDAGUTTO (SANDRACOTTUS) and son of BINDUSÁRO who had a numerous progeny, the issue of no less than sixteen consorts. DHANMÁSÓKO, who had but one uterine brother, named TISSO, appears to have been of a turbulent and ambitious character; BINDUSÁRO consigned him to an honorable banishment by conferring on him the government of *Ujjéni* (*Oujein*)* “in his apprehension arising from a rumour which had prevailed that he (ASÓKO) would murder his own father; and being therefore desirous of employing him at a distance, established him at *Ujjéni*, conferring the government of that kingdom on him.”

While administering that government he formed a connection with CHE'TIYA DE'WI a princess of *Chétiyagiri*, and had by her a son and daughter, MAHINDO and SANGHAMITTA', who followed their father to *Patilipura*, subsequently entered into the sacerdotal order, and were the missionaries who converted *Ceylon* to Buddhism. CHE'TIYA DE'WI herself returned to her native city. On his death-bed, BINDUSÁRO sent a “letter” recalling him to his capital, *Patilipura*. He hastened thither, and as soon as his parent expired, put all his brothers, excepting Tisso, to death, and usurped the empire. He raised Tisso to the dignity of *Uparájá*,—which would appear to be the recognition of the succession to the throne.

In the 4th year after his accession, being the year of *Buddho* 218, and before Christ 325†, he was inaugurated, or anointed king. In the 3rd year of his inauguration, he was converted to Buddhism by the priest NIGRODHO the son of his eldest murdered brother, SUMANO. In the 4th year Tisso resigned his succession to the empire, and became a priest. In the 6th MAHINDO and SANGHAMITTA also entered into the sacerdotal order. In the 17th the THIRD CONVOCATION was held, and missionaries were dispatched all over Asia to propagate Buddhism. In the 18th MAHINDO arrived in *Ceylon*, and effected the conversion of the Ceylonese monarch DE'WANANPIYATISSO and the inhabitants of this island. In the same year SANGHAMITTA, the bo-tree and relics were sent by him to *Ceylon*. In the 30th his first con-

* Introduction to the *Maháwanso*, p. xlii.

† The second paper on “Buddhistical Annals” notices the discrepancy of about 60 years between this date, and that deduced from the date of European classical authors connected with ALEXANDER'S invasion.

sort espoused after his accession, ASANDHIMITTA', who was zealously devoted to Buddhism, died; and three years thereafter he married his second wife. He reigned 37 years.

The five short insulated lines at the foot of the *Allahabad* pillar, having reference to this second empress, is, by its position in the column, a signal evidence of the authenticity, and mutual corroboration of these inscriptions and the *Páli* annals. As DHANMA'SÓKO married her in the 34th year of his reign, she could not have been noticed in the body of the inscriptions which were recorded on the 27th. I fear we do not yet possess a correct transcript of these five lines*. The passage in the *Maháwanso* which refers to this queen is curious, and may hereafter assist the correct translation of these five lines. I therefore insert it.

- 1 *Atihárasáhi wassamhi Dhammásókassa Rájino Maháméggha-wanórámé mahábódhi patitthahi.*
- 2 *Tató dwádasamé wassé mahési tassa rájino piyá Asandhimittá sá máta Sambuddhamániká.*
- 3 *Tató chatutthawassamhi, Dhammásóko mahápati tassárákkhan mahésitté thapési wósamá sayáti.*
- 4 *Tatótu totiyé wassé sábalárupamánini "mayápicha ayán rájá mahábódhin mamáyati,"*
- 5 *Ili kódhawasán gantwá, attanótattha káriká manádukanáakayógéna mahábódhimaghátayi.*
- 6 *Tató chatutthé wassamhi Dhammásóko maháyasó anichchatáwasampattó : sattatinsosamá imá.*

"In the eighteenth year of the reign of DHAMMA'SÓKO, the bo-tree was planted in the *Mahámégawano's* pleasure garden, (at *Anurádhapura*). In the twelfth year from that period, the beloved wife of that monarch, ASANDHIMITTA', who had identified herself with the faith of Buddho, died. In the fourth year (from her demise), the rájá DHAMMA'SÓKO, under the influence of carnal passions, raised to the dignity of queen consort, an attendant of her's (his former wife's). In the third year from that date, this malicious and vain creature who thought only of the charms of her own person, saying, "this king, neglecting me, lavishes his devotion exclusively on the bo-tree,"—in her rage (attempted to) destroy the great bo with the poisoned fang of a toad. In the fourth year from that occurrence, this highly gifted monarch, DHAMMA'SÓKO, fulfilled the lot of mortality. These years collectively amount to thirty-seven."

I have not had time to examine the fifth inscription round the *Delhi* column carefully, and I apprehend that the transcript is not altogether perfect yet. The last line and half of this inscription, I should be disposed to read thus :

"*E'tán Dáwánanpiya áha ; 'iyán dhanmalibi ata a'hasilóthambáni, Wisalittha-lékkhániwa tata kantawiyá : éna ésa chirathikasiya.*" In the *Páli* considered

* See page 966 which had not reached the author when the above was written.—ED.

the most classical in *Ceylon*, the sentence would be written as follows : *Etan Dēwānanpiya āha : iyan dhanmalipi atha atthasilāthambāni Wēsāliṭṭha-lēkhāniwa tatha (tatha) katā ; tena ēsā chiratṭhitikā siyā.*

“ DE'WA'NAN'PIYA delivered this (injunction). Thereafter eight stone columns have been erected in different quarters like the inscriptions on DHA'NMO established at *Wēsāli*. By this means this (inscription) will be perpetuated for ever.”

If this reading be correct*, as I have said before, we have still five more of these columns to discover in India.

I would wish to notice here that there are several errata in the *Pāli* quotations in the July journal occasioned, probably, by the indistinction of the writing of my copyist. I mention this merely to prevent *Pāli* scholars from inferring that those errata are peculiarities in the orthography of that language as known in *Ceylon*. For instance in page 586, you quote me as translating *Viyódhanmā* “ perishable things,” whereas the words ought to have been “ *Wayā-dhanmā.*”

The inscription fronting north (as corrected by Mr. TURNOUR.)

1. Dēwānanpiya Pāṇḍu sō rājā hēwan āhā “ Sattawīsati
2. wasa abhisitēna mé iyan danmalipi likhāpitā-
3. hi. Dantapurato Dasanan upādayin, ananta agāya danmakāmatāya
4. agāyaparikhāya, agāyasāsānāya, agēna bhayena,
5. agēnanusāhēna ; ēsāchakho mama anusathiyā.
6. Dhanmapēkhā, dhanmakāmatācha, suwé suwé, waḥhitā. waḥhisantichewa.
7. Purisāpicha mé, rakusācha, gawayācha matimācha anuwidhiyantū
8. sanpātīpādayantucha, aparanchaparancha samādayitwā héméwā antā
9. mahāmatāpi. E'sahiwidhi yā iyan, dhanména pālītā, dhanména widhinā
10. dhanména sikhāyatā, dhanména galīli.” Dēwānanpiya Pāṇḍu sō rājā
11. hēwan āhā : “ Dhanmó sādhuḥkiyancha dhanméti. Apāsananwā bahūkan yāni

* This reading involves so many alterations of the text that I must demur to it, especially as on re-examination I find it possible to improve my own reading so as to render it (in my own opinion at least) quite unobjectionable. The correction I allude to is in the reading of *āthā*, which from the greater experience I have now gained of the equivalents of particular letters, I am inclined to read as the Sanskrit verb *āstāt* (*Pāli āthā*).—The whole sentence Sanskritized will be found to differ in nothing from the *Pāli*—except in that *stambha* is masculine in the former and neuter in the latter :—and that the verb *kataviyā* is required to agree with it.

Iyam dharmalipi ata āstāt, sila-stambhā (ni)vā siladhārikā(ni)vā tatah kar-taviyā (ni), ena (or yena) eshā chirasthiti syāt.

“ In order that this religious edict may stand (remain), stone pillars and stone slabs (or receptacles) shall be accordingly prepared ;—by which the same may endure unto remote ages.”

Āthā might certainly be read as *ashto* eight, but the construction of the sentence is thereby much impaired, and further it is unlikely that any definite number should be fixed upon, without a parallel specification of the places wher^e they should be erected.—ED.

12. dayadáni saché sóchayé chakhudánépi mé bahuwidhadinno ? Dipada-
13. chatupadésa pariwáracharésu wiwidhémé anugahé katé ; A'páné
14. dakhinéyé anánipicha mé bahúni kayanáni katáni. Etáya mé
15. atháya iyan dhanmalipi likhápitá héwan anupaṭipajatu ; chiran
16. ṭhitékáche hótiti. Yócha héwan sanpaṭipajisati, sésákatan karontíti !"
17. Déwánanpiya Pánđu só rájá héwan áhá : " ' Kayananméwa dakhati' iyan mé
18. ' kayanókatóti' nó na papan dakhati : iyan mé ' pápókatóti' iyanwa ' ádinawá'
19. námati. Dupachawékhóchakhó ésá, éwanchakhó ésá dakhiyé ; imá na
20. ádinawagáminináma. Athacha díné, nithuliyé, kóddhamáné, isu-
21. ké, léuanawhaké, mársalábhásayasé, ésabáḍhádikhá, iyan mé-
22. pi dinakáyé, iyan manan mé páratikáyé.

The inscription fronting East.

1. Déwánanpiya Pánđu só rájá héwan áhá. " Sattawísati
2. wasa abhisiténa mé iyan dhanmalipi likhápitá. Lókasa
3. hitasukháya sátan apahátattá dhanmawudhi. Pápówa
4. héwan lókasa hitan wakhati. Pachawékháma athan iyan.
5. Nítésu héwan patiyá santésu, héwan apikathésu,
6. kámakáni sukhá awhámiti. Tatháchéwan dahámi héméwá-
7. séwanikáyésu pachuwékhámi. Séwa Pásanḍhapi mé pújanti
8. wiwidháya pújáya. Ichin iyan ataná pachúpagamané
9. samámokhiyamaté. Sattawísati wasa abhisiténa mé
10. iyan dhanmalipi likhápitá."
11. Déwánanpiya Pánđu só rájá héwan áhá. " Yó atikanta-
12. antaré rájáné poséhéwa irisa kathán jáné.
13. Dhanmawaḍhiyé wadhéya ; nócha jáné anúrúpáya dhanmawaḍhiyá
14. waḍhitha" Etan Déwánanpiya Pánđu só rájá héwan áhá. " Esama-
15. puṭhan atikantécha antaré héwan irisa rájáné, kathán jáné ?
16. anurupáya dhanmawaḍhiya waḍhayéti ? Róchojanó anurupáya
17. dhanmawaḍhiyá wadhétha sékinapújané anupaṭipajayé.
18. Kárasujaná anurupáya dhanmawaḍhiyá, waḍhiyanti ; kanasukáni
19. atṭhamayéhi ramawaḍhiyanti. E'tan Déwánanpiya Pánđu só héwan
20. áhá " ésamé puṭhan dhanmaséwanéna séwayé. Mé dhanmánusatáné
21. anusésémi. E'tan janá sutan anupaṭipajipatá achan namásatá."

The Inscription fronting South.

1. Déwánanpiya Pánđu só rájá héwan áhá. " Sattawísati wasa
2. abhisiténa mé, imáni satáni awadhiyáni katháni-séyathá-
3. suké, sáriká, arané, chakawáké, hansa, nandimukhá, góráṭhé,
4. jatuká, abá, káparéká, datti, anthikamawé, wédawéyaká,
5. gangapuputhaká, sankajamawé, kaḍhathasagaká, panarasé, simaré,
6. sandiké, rókapadá, parasaté, sétskapóté, gámakapóté,
7. savé, chatupadé, yepi ; luddaganó été nachakhádiyatu.
8. E'lakácha, súkaṛécha, gabhaniwapáyimináwa, awadhiyápentu ke-
9. pichakéna ; ansamansiké wadhikakathé nó kathawiyé : tásé sajiwé
10. nottipátawiyé : dáwé anatáyéwá wibásiyéwá, nottipátawiyé,
11. jiwénajiwéné pósitawiyé. Tísu chatumásisu tisáyan punamásiyan,
12. tíndiwasáni, chuddasan, pannarasan paṭipadiyé, dhuwéyécha
13. Anupósatté, maré awadhiyé nópi, wikétawiyé. Etániyéwa diwasáni
14. nágawanépi, kwatha, dugasiáni, annáni pi jiwánikáyáni
15. nó hantawiyáni. Atṭhamipakháyé, chawudasiyé panarasiyé tásáyé
16. punawásané tisú chatumásisu, súdiwasáyé, gónánúna rakhitawiyé
17. ajaké, élaké, súkare éwanpi anné nirakhiatáné, nirakhitawiyé.

18. Tisáyé punawásayé chatumásiyé chatumásapakhayé apawasá gónásan-
 19. rakhaté nó kathawiyé. Yáwa sattawisati wasa abhisiténa mé, étáye
 20. antarikáyé páná wisati bandhanamókháni katáni.”

The Inscription fronting West.

1. Dēwānanpiya Pāndu só rājā hēwan āhā. “ Sattawisati wasa
2. abhisiténa mé, iyan dhanmalipi likhápítā. Rajjaká mé
3. bahusu pānasatasahasésú janésú áyanti. Tésan yó abhiparé
4. danḍawé atapati, yé mé kathi kin? Té rajjaká aswata abhitá
5. kinmāni, pawatayéwun janasa janapadasa hitasukan rupadhéwun;
6. anugahénéwachá, sukhíyana dukhíyana jánisanti; dhanmáya té nacha-
7. wiyéwa disanti janān janapadan. Kin téhi attancha paratancha
8. arādhayéwun? Té rajjaká parusatá paṭacharitawé man purisánipimé
9. * ródhanāni paṭicharisanti; tépi chakkéna wiyówadisanti yé na mé rajjaká
10. charantá árunḍhayitawé, athahi pajanwiya táyé dhátíyá nisjita;
11. aswathérátiwiya tá dhāti, charantá mé pajan sukhan parihathawé.
12. Hēwan mama rajjaká katé, janapadasa piṭasukháyé; yéna été abhitá
13. aswatha sátan awamánā, kamāni pawatáyéwúti. E’téna mé rajjakānan
14. abhiharawadanḍawé atapatiyé kathé, iritawyéhi éśákiti
15. wiyóhārasamuticha siyá. Danḍasamatácha, awaitépicha, mé awuté,
16. bandhana budhānan manusānan tiritadanḍinan pawadhānan, tiní diwasāni, mé
17. Yutté dinné, nítikárikáni niripayihantu, Jíwítáyé tánan
18. násantanwá niripayantu: dánan dahantu: pahitakan rupawápanwá karontu.
19. Irichimé hēwan nira dhasipi karípiparatan arādhayéwapi: janasacha
20. wadhāti: wiwidhadanmacharané; sayamé dānasauwibhógóti†.”

Translation of the Inscription fronting North.

The rāja PA’NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ This inscription on *Dhanmo* is recorded by me who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration. From *Dantapura*, I have obtained the tooth (relic of BUDDHO), out of innumerable and inestimable motives of devotion to *Dhanmo*,—with the reverential awe, and devout zeal (due) to the precious religion which confers inestimable protection. This (inscription), moreover, may serve to perpetuate the remembrance of me.

“ Those who are observant of *Dhanmo*, and delight in *Dhanmo*, growing in grace, from day to day, will assuredly prosper. Let my courtiers, guards, herdsmen, and learned men, duly comprehend, and fully conform to (the same) uniting (to themselves) all classes, the rich and the poor, as well as the grandees of the land. A course such as this, sustained by *Dhanmo*, inculcated by *Dhanmo*, and sanctified by *Dhanmo*, is the path (prescribed) by *Dhanmo*.”

The rāja PA’NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ Thus this *Dhanmo* is most excellent in its righteousness.”

Wherefore should I who have been a charitable donor, in various ways, grieve (to bestow) charitable gifts, whether it be a little food, or a great offering, or even the sacrifice of my eyes? To bipeds and quadrupeds, as well as those employed in my service, various acts of benevolence have been performed by me;

* The letter *chh* is read as *r* throughout; and the letter *u* as *ru*.—ED.

† By comparing this version with that published in July, it will be seen to what extent the license of altering letters has been exercised. The author has however since relinquished the change of the Rájā’s name, in consequence of his happy discovery of PIYADASI’S identity.—ED.

and at the *Apána* (hall of offerings) to those worthy of offerings, by me, both food and other articles, involving great expenditure, have been provided.

“ Let it be duly understood that this inscription has been recorded by me with this object, as well as that it should endure for ages. Would but one person fully conform thereto, what would (not) the rest do !”

The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ (It may be said) ‘ this (dispensation) appears to be prodigality itself ;’ or of me ‘ he is addicted to prodigality.’ That would not appear to us to be an act of impiety ; or this, of me, ‘ he is a sinner ;’ or this, ‘ he is a miscreant,’ or any such reproaches. The evil designing man (may say) these things, and such a person may represent them so, but they are not the road to (do not inflict) degradation.”

“ Moreover, by my contemplating the distresses affecting the poor, the unfortunate, the resentful, the proud, the envious, those bent with age, and those on the eve of becoming a prey to death,—(that contemplation) would produce in me a due sense of commiseration towards the destitute.”

The Inscription fronting East.

The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ This inscription on *Dhanmo* has been recorded by me who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration. *Dhanmo* prevails for the happiness and welfare of mankind ; as well as to prevent the forfeiture of their salvation. Even the sinner would admit, that it (is essential for) the happiness of mankind. Let us, therefore, stedfastly contemplate this truth. While righteous men thereby become devoted to charity, and are bent on discoursing (thereon), let me encourage their benevolent proceedings. In like manner, let me extend my solicitude towards the wealthy ; and let me be specially regardful of the multitudes under my sway. Even my *Pásanāhi* subjects present me with various tributes. I formed this resolve, under the conviction of the supreme beatitude, (resulting) from an individual himself setting an example.”

The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ This inscription on *Dhanmo* is recorded by me who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration—should any person, after the extinction of my regal authority, learn from my subjects themselves, such a precept as this, he would prosper by the grace of *Dhanmo* ; should he not acquire that knowledge, he (cannot) prosper by the orthodox *Dhanmo*.” The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus asked this (query). “ He, who after the extinction of my authority, would not acquire this knowledge, how should he learn these royal mandates ? how can he prosper by the orthodox *Dhanmo* ? The well disposed person, (who) has prospered by the orthodox *Dhanmo*, would evince gratitude for the benevolence of his benefactors. (All) conforming, good men prosper by the orthodox *Dhanmo*, and realize the bliss of the eight heavens.” The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has declared this also. “ He who attends to this precept of mine, would by the observance of *Dhanmo* lead a righteous life. Let me also, by the observance of *Dhanmo*, attain an exalted station (of righteousness). The inhabitants at large, who conform to this edict, (will) eschew evil.”

Translation of the Inscription fronting South.

The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ By me, who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration, these animals have been forbid to be killed,—namely, parrots and mainas (*gracula religiosa*) in the wilderness ; the brahmany duck (*anas casaca*) ; the goose (rather the mythological and fabulous “ *hansa*”) ; the nandimuká (supposed to be the fabulous “ *kinnari*”) ; the golden maina (*turdus salica*,); the bat, the crane, the blue pigeon, the gallinuli, the sankagamawé, wédawéyaká, the gangapuputhaká, the sankagamawé, the kaḍhathasayaká, the panarasé, the simaré, the sandiké, the rókapadá, the parasaté, the white dove, and the village dove, as well as all quadrupeds. These, let not the tribe of huntsmen eat. For the same reason, let not sheep and goats which are fed with stored provender, be slaughtered by any one ; and those who are accustomed to receive a portion of the meat (of animals killed) should no longer enter into engagements to have them slaughtered on those terms ; nor should ferocious animals either be destroyed ; neither in sporting or in any other mode, nor even as a merriment, should they be killed : (on the contrary) by one living creature, other living creatures should be cherished. During (all) the three seasons of the year, on the full moon day of their (lunar months) as well as on these three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the first (of each moiety of the lunar months) (each of) these being days of religious observance, not only the agonies of slaughtering, but selling also should not be allowed. During these days, at least, on the mountain, in the wilderness, and everywhere, even the multitudes of the various species of animals which may be found disabled, should not be killed. During the three seasons, on the eighth, the fourteenth and the fifteenth (of each moiety of the lunar month) being the holy days devoted to deeds of piety, oxen, goats, sheep and pigs, which are ordinarily kept confined, as also the other species which are not kept confined, should not be restrained. Nor should it even be hinted, on the holydays of the four months of each of the seasons, that the stalled oxen even should be kept confined. By me, who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration, during the course of that period, living creatures have been released from the twenty evils (literally restraints) to which they were subjected.”

The Inscription fronting West.

The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ This inscription on *Dhanmo* is recorded by me in the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration. My public functionaries intermingle among many hundred thousands of living creatures, as well as human beings. If any one of them should inflict injuries on the most alien of these beings, what advantage would there be in this my edict ? (On the other hand) should these functionaries follow a line of conduct tending to allay alarm, they would confer prosperity and happiness on the people as well as on the country ; and by such a benevolent procedure, they will acquire a knowledge of the condition both of the prosperous and of the wretched ; and will, at the same time, prove to the people and the country that they have not departed from *Dhanmo*. Why should they inflict an injury either on a countryman of their own or on an alien ? Should my functionaries act tyrannically, my people, loudly lamenting, will be appealing to me ; and will appear also to have become alienated, (from the effects of orders enforced) by royal authority. Those ministers of mine, who proceed on circuit, so far from inflicting oppressions, should henceforth cherish them, as the infant in arms is cherished by the wet-nurse ; and those experienced circuit ministers,

moreover, like unto the wet-nurse, should watch over the welfare of my child (the people). In such a procedure, my ministers would ensure perfect happiness to my realm."

"By such a course, these (the people) released from all disquietudes, and most fully conscious of their security, would devote themselves to their avocations. By the same procedure, on its being proclaimed that the grievous power of my ministers to inflict tortures is abolished, it would prove a worthy subject of joy, and be the established compact (law of the land). Let the criminal judges and executioners of sentences, (in the instances) of persons committed to prison, or who are sentenced to undergo specific punishments, without my special sanction, continue their judicial investigation for three days, till my decision be given. Let them also as regards the welfare of living creatures, attend to what affects their conservation, as well as their destruction: let them establish offerings: let them set aside animosity.

Hence those who observe, and who act up to these precepts would abstain from afflicting another. To the people also many blessings will result by living in *Dhammo*. The merit resulting from charity would spontaneously manifest itself."

VI.—*Account and drawing of two Burmese Bells now placed in a Hindu temple in Upper India. By Capt. R. WROUGHTON, Revenue Surveyor, Agra division.*

In the month of January last, while engaged upon the revenue survey of zillah *Sirpurah*, I accidentally heard of a celebrated Burmese bell, in the possession of Resáladár BHEEM SINGH (late of the 2nd local horse) and lodged at a sewala, the property of that individual, situated in the village of *Nudrohee* on the banks of the *Kalee Nuddee*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west from the town of *Khass Gunj*. I was induced to visit the spot, and recognized old acquaintances in the Resáladár and bell; the former having been engaged with me in the night storm of the city of *Arracan*; and the bell, the identical one, which was found upon the capture of that place suspended in the temple (or pagoda) of *Gaudama muni*, a few hundred yards to the N. E. of the old stone fort, being the position occupied by the 2nd regiment of local horse, during the calamitous rainy season of 1825.

The history of this bell is very unsatisfactory, and very brief. Upon the breaking up of the south-eastern division and the return of the troops to Bengal, BHEEM SINGH solicited permission to carry away the bell in question, and he states that consent was given to his application, both by the late respected General MORRISON, and Mr. T. C. ROBERTSON, Political Agent; upon what authority however, this proceeding can be justified, I know not, neither am I disposed to agitate